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SUBJ: AMBASSADOR SCALI'S STATEMENT ON PALESTINE QUESTION

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF STATEMENT ON PALESTINE DELIVERED
NOVEMBER 21 BY AMBASSADOR SCALI TO GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR JOHN SCALI, UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE
TO THE UNITED NATIONS, IN PLENARY, ON THE QUESTION OF
PALESTINE, NOVEMBER 21, 1974.

THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE, AS THE SPEAKERS WHO HAVE PRECEDED
ME HAVE AMPLY DEMONSTRATED, HAS COMMANDED MORE ATTENTION FROM
THE UNITED NATIONS THAN ALMOST ANY OTHERSINGLE ISSUE. THE
UNITED NATIONS HAS NOT RESOLVED THE BASIC CONFLICT IN
THE MIDDLE EAST, BUT IT HAS LIMITED THE TERRIBLE CON-
SEQUENCES OF THIS DISPUTE. AS WE ONCE AGAIN CONFRONT THIS
ISSUE, IT IS FITTING THAT WE REMIND OURSELVES OF THE LONG
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AND HONORABLE HISTORY OF THE UNITED NATIONS' EFFORTS

TO MAINTAIN THE PEACE. WE ALSO SHOULD PAY TRIBUTE TO THOSE WHO SERVE IN THE UNITED NATIONS PEACE FORCES IN THE AREA AND TO THOSE WHO PROVIDE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO THE VICTIMS OF WAR.

WE MUST NOT FORGET THE THOUSANDS OF HUMAN BEINGS WHO HAVE SUFFERED AND WHO CONTINUE TO SUFFER FROM THIS CONFLICT.

THOSE WHO SEEK A GENUINE RESOLUTION OF THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM MUST KEEP EVER IN MIND THE CONTINUING PLIGHT OF PEOPLE WHO HAVE LEFT THEIR HOMES BECAUSE OF THIS CONFLICT AND HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO RETURN. CONTINUING EFFORTS BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO ALLEVIATE THE HARDSHIPS OF THESE PEOPLE ARE ESSENTIAL, BUT THESE EFFORTS ALONE ARE NOT A SOLUTION.

ONLY A JUST AND LASTING SOLUTION OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI DISPUTE CAN HALT THE KILLING, STOP THE SUFFERING, AND HEAL THE WOUNDS. THE GOAL OF THIS ORGANIZATION MUST BE TO SEEK WAYS TO PROMOTE MOVEMENT TO THAT END WHILE AVOIDING ANY MEASURE WHICH MIGHT MAKE SUCH MOVEMENT MORE DIFFICULT.

LAST YEAR'S OUTBREAK OF WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST DEMONSTRATED FOR THE FOURTH TIME IN A QUARTER CENTURY THAT MILITARY FORCE CANNOT RESOLVE THE ISSUES WHICH DIVIDE ARAB AND ISRAELI. IT MUST BE CLEAR BY NOW THAT MORE VIOLENCE CANNOT BRING PEACE. IT WILL ONLY INTENSIFY HATREDS, COMPLICATE DIFFERENCES, AND ADD TO THE SUM OF HUMAN MISERY.

THE SOLE ALTERNATIVE TO THE STERILE PURSUIT OF CHANGE THROUGH VIOLENCE IS NEGOTIATION. THIS PATH IS LESS DRAMATIC, BUT IN THE END IT IS FAR MORE LIKELY TO PRODUCE ACCEPTABLE CHANGE. THE GREAT ACHIEVEMENT OF THE PAST YEAR HAS BEEN THAT THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT HAVE AT LAST ACCEPTED THIS ALTERNATIVE, AND THAT THEY HAVE FOR THE FIRST TIME BEGUN TO MAKE IT WORK. A LANDMARK IN THIS EFFORT, AND IN ARAB-ISRAELI RELATIONS, IS SET FORTH IN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 338, IN WHICH THE SECURITY COUNCIL FOR THE FIRST TIME CALLED FOR IMMEDIATE NEGOTIATIONS "BETWEEN THE PARTIES CONCERNED, UNDER

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APPROPRIATE AUSPICES, AIMED AT ESTABLISHING A JUST AND DURABLE PEACE."

THE ACCEPTANCE BY THE PARTIES OF THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS SET IN MOTION BY RESOLUTION 338 HAS LED TO THE CONVENING OF THE GENEVA PEACE CONFERENCE, AND TO THE SUBSEQUENT, SUCCESSFUL EFFORTS TO NEGOTIATE SEPARATE DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE FORCES OF EGYPT AND ISRAEL, AND SYRIA AND ISRAEL. IN EACH

OF THESE DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENTS THE PARTIES REAFFIRMED THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF THE PRINCIPLE OF A STEP-BY-STEP NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. THEY DID SO BY AGREEING TO INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT AS THE FINAL PARAGRAPH OF EACH ACCORD: "THIS AGREEMENT IS NOT REGARDED...AS A FINAL PEACE AGREEMENT. IT CONSTITUTES A FIRST STEP TOWARD A FINAL, JUST AND DURABLE PEACE ACCORDING TO THE PROVISIONS OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 338 AND WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE."

THE CONSEQUENCES OF A POSSIBLE BREAKDOWN IN THIS NEGOTIATING PROCESS CANNOT BE OVEREMPHASIZED. WAR HAS RAVAGED THE MIDDLE EAST FOUR TIMES IN 26 YEARS BECAUSE PEOPLE DID NOT BELIEVE THAT CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE PARTIES WAS POSSIBLE. A FIFTH WAR WOULD THREATEN THE SECURITY OF EVERY COUNTRY AND PRODUCE NO PERMANENT GAINS FOR ANY.

THE PRIMARY OBJECTIVE OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, THEREFORE, HAS BEEN TO MAINTAIN THE MOMENTUM OF THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. SECRETARY KISSINGER RECENTLY RETURNED FROM A VISIT TO THE MIDDLE EAST WHERE HE EXPLORED WITH EVERY LEADER HE CONSULTED IN THE AREA THE VITAL QUESTION OF HOW TO CONTINUE BUILDING ON THE PROGRESS ALREADY ACHIEVED. THE ANSWER TO THIS PARAMOUNT QUESTION STILL HANGS IN THE BALANCE.

IF THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS IS TO CONTINUE, EACH PARTY MUST REMAIN COMMITTEE TO NEGOTIATING. EACH MUST BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT A NEGOTIATED PEACE WITH THE OTHERS AND EACH MUST BE PREPARED TO SEE DECISIONS ON HOW TO PROCEED EVOLVE THROUGH UNDERSTANDINGS AMONG THE PARTIES. THIS IS HOW THE GENEVA PEACE CONFERENCE WAS CONVENED, UNDER THE CO-CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES. THIS IS WHY, WHEN THE PARTIES AGREED TO ATTEND THAT CONFERENCE, THEY ALSO AGREED THAT THE ROLE OF OTHER PARTICIPANTS

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WOULD BE DISCUSSED AT THE CONFERENCE.

THE FOUNDATION OF SUCH STEPS TOWARD PEACE IS THE ACCEPTANCE BY ALL PARTIES OF THE PRINCIPLES OF RESOLUTION 338 -- TO ENGAGE IN THE GIVE AND TAKE OF NEGOTIATION WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF ACHIEVING A PERMANENT PEACE SETTLEMENT AMONG THEM ON A BASIS THAT ALL PARTIES CAN ACCEPT. IF ANY OF THE PARTIES REJECTS THIS GOVERNING PRINCIPLE OR QUESTIONS THE RIGHT OF EXISTENCE OF ANY OF THE PARTIES TO THE NEGOTIATION, OUR BEST HOPES FOR NEGOTIATION AND FOR PEACE ARE LOST. CERTAINLY IT MUST BE UNDERSTOOD BY ALL THAT ISRAEL HAS A RIGHT TO EXIST AS A SOVEREIGN, INDEPENDENT STATE WITHIN SECURE AND RECOGNIZED BOUNDARIES.

IN THE COURSE OF THIS DEBATE THERE HAVE BEEN SPEAKERS WHO

HAVE SOUGHT TO EQUATE TERROR WITH REVOLUTION, WHO PROFESS TO SEE NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE SLAUGHTER OF INNOCENTS AND A STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION. THERE ARE THOSE WHO WISH TO COMPARE THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION AND THE MANY OTHER WARS OF LIBERATION OF THE PAST 200 YEARS, WITH INDISCRIMINATE TERRORISM.

IF THERE WERE INSTANCES DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION WHERE INNOCENT PEOPLE SUFFERED, THERE WAS NO INSTANCE WHERE THE REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP BOASTED OF OR CONDONED SUCH CRIMES. THERE WERE NO VICTIMS, ON EITHER SIDE, OF A DE-LIBERATE POLICY OF TERROR. THOSE WHO MOLDED OUR NATION AND FOUGHT FOR OUR FREEDOM NEVER SUCCUMBED TO THE EASY EXCUSE THAT THE END JUSTIFIES THE MEANS.

WE HOPE THAT ALL MEMBER NATIONS WILL REAFFIRM THEIR SUPPORT FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AND THEIR SUPPORT FOR SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338. WE KNOW THAT THESE RESOLUTIONS ARE THE BASIS ON WHICH PROGRESS SO FAR HAS BEEN POSSIBLE. WE BELIEVE THEY REMAIN THE BEST HOPE FOR CONTINUED PROGRESS. TO SEEK TO ALTER THEM NOT ONLY RISKS DANGEROUS DELAY BUT COULD DESTROY PROSPECTS FOR PEACE IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE.

CERTAINLY WE CAN ALL ACCEPT THE FACT THAT NEGOTIATIONS CAN TAKE PLACE ONLY WHEN THE PARTIES ARE WILLING TO NEGOTIATE.
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MY GOVERNMENT IS CONVINCED -- AND THE SUCCESSES OF THE PAST YEAR STRENGTHEN OUR CONVICTION -- THAT THE ONLY WAY TO KEEP THE PARTIES COMMITTED TO NEGOTIATIONS IS TO MOVE FORWARD THROUGH A SERIES OF AGREEMENTS, EACH SUBSTANTIAL ENOUGH TO REPRESENT SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS, YET EACH LIMITED ENOUGH FOR GOVERNMENTS AND PEOPLES TO EVOLVE, CREATES NEW CONFIDENCE, AND ESTABLISHES NEW SITUATIONS IN WHICH STILL FURTHER STEPS CAN BE TAKEN. WITH THIS APPROACH, THE PARTIES HAVE OVER THE PAST YEAR SUCCEEDED IN TAKING THE FIRST SUBSTANTIAL STEPS IN DECADES TOWARD RECONCILING THEIR DIFFERENCES.

IT IS MY GOVERNMENT'S FIRM CONVICTION THAT THE WAY TO MOVE TOWARD A SITUATION MORE RESPONSIVE TO PALESTINIAN INTERESTS IS NOT THROUGH NEW RESOLUTIONS OR DRAMATIC PARLIAMENTARY MANEUVERS, BUT BY WEAVING THE PALESTINIAN INTERESTS INTO THE GIVE AND TAKE OF THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. THROUGH THIS EVOLUTIONARY PROCESS, PALESTINIAN INTERESTS CAN BE BETTER REFLECTED IN THE NEW SITUATIONS WHICH ARE CREATED.

THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT THUS BELIEVES THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION THIS ASSEMBLY CAN NOW MAKE TOWARD RESOLVING THE ISSUE BEFORE US IS TO HELP ESTABLISH AN INTER-

NATIONAL CLIMATE IN WHICH THE PARTIES WILL BE ENCOURAGED
TO MAINTAIN THE MOMENTUM TOWARD PEACE. WE ARE EQUALLY
CONVINCED THAT THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF THE PALESTINIAN
PEOPLE CAN BE PROMOTED IN THIS NEGOTIATING PROCESS, AND THAT
THESE NEGOTIATIONS WILL LEAD TO A JUST AND LASTING PEACE
FOR ALL PEOPLES IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

SCALI

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